1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

Work in the fields, whether sowing, weeding or harvesting, is nearly always done in large parties. These parties are made up partly of relations by blood or marriage, and partly by friends. Since the Lepchas trace relationship back nine generations on the father's side and at least four on the mother's there is a tendency for most villagers to have some relationship; I should guess that out of a dozen Lepchas of Lingthem taken by chance, a relationship chain could be established between eight of them. But this relationship is not necessary for field-helpers; in nearly all the lists I made there were a few people quite unrelated.

Help in the fields is always repaid with a similar amount of labour; for sowing and weeding the helpers are also always given a meal with meat. At harvesting a meal need not be given to people who volunteer their services, but must be given to those who are asked to help. At harvest payment is given in kind: forty to fifty pounds of rice to an adult worker, a big basket of millet or maize, thirty to forty pounds of buckwheat. Children are given proportionately less. The first person to harvest his dry rice, and the last to harvest the wet, must make a small present of the grain to all the other householders. Because cardamum is a money-producing and not a food-producing crop help with it is paid for in money; a rupee a head is given for work in the fields and Rs. 3/– for carrying a maund[5] to market.

iv

The most general food of the Lepchas is rice. This is prepared in four main ways; boiled whole after husking in water and eaten with meat or vegetables or other seasoning; boiled whole in milk; 'puffed', or ground fine and made into a pudding. This ground-rice pudding is often given to children. Wheat and maize may be eaten in the same way if there is no rice, but they are not liked. Buckwheat is ground and mixed with water and baked on the

[5] The *maund*, which is divided into 40 *seers* is the current measure of weight in India. A maund is meant to represent the load one man can lift, and its equivalent in European measure depends partly on *what* is measured, and partly on *where* it is measured. (Similar confusion can be found in various English measures of agricultural produce such as a bushel, or a truss.) On the Indian railways a maund is equated to 80 lbs., which makes the seer 2 lbs. The Lepchas have their own measures according to the size of the basket used. Since all these measures are very rough I have generally given an approximate equivalent in lbs. avoirdupois.

1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

CHAPTER SIX

THE RULES OF KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

i

When a Lepcha speaks of 'we' he generally means all the people of his village. But besides these geographical divisions Lepchas are divided up into other groups by birth and marriage; these groups are the patrilineal clan, or *ptso*, and the immediate and extended family. Unlike their neighbours, the Nepali, the Lepchas have a very small number of kinship terms;[1] fewer even than we have, for they exclude all the category of cousins, and, except for the mother's brothers, make no distinction between the paternal and maternal lines. For people younger than the speaker, too, they do not make any distinction of sex; the same word is used for a younger brother or a younger sister, for a son or a daughter, for a nephew or a niece. Only in the case of children's spouses are different words used for son-in-law and daughter-in-law.

Old age is considered by the Lepchas to be a desirable quality; the polite term of address to anybody you are not related to is 'old man'; and there is a tendency to push anybody older than the speaker into a higher generation. Thus, when a man has had a child he calls his wife's parents 'grandfather' and 'grandmother', and the parents call their own elder brothers and sisters 'father' and 'mother'; the wife's elder brother, or her elder sister's husband (and conversely) are equated with her father. The opposite tendency is also manifested towards the wives of younger brothers (the elder brother calls them 'daughters-in-law') and the husbands of younger sisters (the elder sister calls them 'sons-in-law'). In the joint family which dwells under a single roof only nine terms are normally used: 'grandfather', 'grandmother,' 'father',

[1] A complete list of Lepcha kinship terms and other common forms of address are given in Appendix II.

1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

'mother', 'elder brother', 'elder sister', 'younger brother-or-sister,' 'child' and 'grandchild'. It does not matter how many brothers and their wives live together; all the brothers are called 'father', all their wives 'mother' by all the children; if it is necessary to distinguish which 'mother' or 'father' is meant, the child will say 'big mother', 'little mother', and if necessary 'middle mother'; his own mother he will call his 'real mother'. If the married brothers live in different houses the children of the younger brother will still call the elder brother and his wife 'father' and 'mother'; but the sons of the elder brother will call the younger brother 'uncle', and his wife 'potential spouse' (*azong*), for, as will be seen later, they may under certain circumstances inherit her.

The Lepchas count descent nine generations back on the father's side, and at least four on the mother's; a person with whom you share a common ancestor on the paternal side nine generations back is addressed in the same way as your real brothers and sisters, and their parents as though they were the brother and sister-in-law of your father. In theory a person should always be given the correct title reckoning back to this common ancestor, without regard to the relative age of the two people, but when the situation becomes too ridiculous the terms are modified. For example the co-wives of Lumba *chithembu* were 'grandmother' and 'grandchild' (the first wife was the grandchild of a younger brother, the second wife the great-great-grandchild of an elder sister) though there was only nine years difference in their ages; but the younger wife called the elder 'mother', because calling her 'grandmother' made her appear too old. Similarly Tafoor had a half-sister Pankek who was younger than his own children: he therefore told his children to call her by her name until she grew up, as the proper term for an aunt, *a-nyou*, is a very respectful one, and would be brought into ridicule if given to a little girl of six.

Except in the case of very young children people are almost always referred to by the proper kinship terms, or by their ecclesiastical or lay titles. Women are practically never named after marriage; they are referred to firstly as their husband's wife, and, as soon as they have borne a child, as their child's mother. Occasionally they are referred to as the inhabitants of the village they were born in. Only occasionally do childless widows start using personal names again. I know the names of very few women in Lingthem, and that is not because of bashfulness on my part or

1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

551 mention the names of his parents or parents-in-law; a man should never mention the name of those women he calls daughter-in-law
784 (that is the wives of his sons, of his younger brothers, and of his brother's sons), nor a woman the names of those men she calls 'son-in-law' (that is her daughter's husbands, her younger sisters' husbands, and the husbands of her sisters' daughters). These prohibitions hold good even after a person is dead; but here likewise there is no avoidance of the same or similar-sounding words in ordinary conversation. To call a person by name, rather than
[576] by their title or a kinship term is considered to be somewhat ill-mannered; it has the same effect as though one were treating him as a child or inferior. In Europe a parallel situation is created when a stranger is immediately addressed by his or her Christian name; it is classing that person as a child or a servant.

● 601 It is difficult to gauge the emotional weight which is carried by terms primarily employed in the immediate family when they are applied to more distant connections. My impression is that the use of such terms as 'mother' and 'father' does carry, and is intended to carry, some of the emotional attitudes derived from the original application of the terms. No child who was able to talk had any doubt as to who were his real father and mother, but many would say 'I have two mothers; my real mother is little mother.'

601 Among the Lepchas the crucial situation arises when a young man lives in the same house as the wife of his father's younger
602 brother. If these two lived in different houses the woman would be a potential spouse for the boy; he would call her *azong* and would have the right to sleep with her. But if they live in the same house he will call her 'mother' and, on account of the emotions of respect and incest surrounding the term, is meant to respect her. In Lingthem there were five or six young men in this situation, and I was not, in any of the cases, able to decide to my own satisfaction whether they did or did not sleep with their 'little mothers'. In the presence of other people they would always deny doing so, for they would be ashamed to say otherwise; three or four confessed privately to having done so, but all on later occasions tried to withdraw or modify their statement, saying for example that though they had slept together they had not done anything. Third parties would never speculate on such private behaviour; to direct questions they would reply with the catch-phrase 'Who can read what is in the heart of another?' Such behaviour, though

1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

considered rather shameless, is not stigmatised as incestuous or even immoral, and there are no sanctions against it. The boy is meant to respect the name of 'mother', but whether he does or not, 'depends entirely on the hearts of the two people concerned.'

A Lepcha is expected to respect his parents and grand-parents, his parents-in-law, and his sons- and daughters-in-law. Of these 'respect-full' situations by far the most important is that between a Lepcha and his parents-in-law. A person is more respectful to his spouse's parents than to his own; he uses more honorific words to them and is careful never to use directly obscene language in front of them. A person must never witness his parents-in-law copulating nor must he be seen doing so by them. Should either of these situations arise the elders will be ashamed and angry.

The tensest of all situations, and one which lasts during the whole life-time of both parties is the relation between a man and his wife's mother, and a woman and her husband's father. These relationships are always rather strained and uncomfortable. If for instance a man's mother-in-law says something immodest, the man himself will feel uncomfortable, and may get up and go away. For a man the situation is most uncomfortable in the period between his betrothal and his bringing his wife home. During that period he has to spend about half his time in his father-in-law's home, helping him in his work; he is almost treated as a servant, under the orders of his father-in-law, and has to be modest and circumspect in his speech and behaviour; the male relations of his wife on the other hand have complete licence to tease him as much as they will and to use every sort of obscene term; if he is provoked into answering back he is humiliated. A woman when she first comes to her husband's house is also delicately situated; but after the actual marriage feast there is no licenced teasing of the bride and, if she is living continually in the same house as her father-in-law, the strain, though it never quite wears off, is considerably lessened. Once he has brought his wife home a man still has to avoid the crudest sexual phrases in front of his parents-in-law; but it is considered a rather amusing and risky game to sail as near the wind as possible.

In theory equal modesty of speech and behaviour should be shown in front of one's own parents and siblings of the opposite sex, but in point of fact in Zongu it is not; one of the things that most shocked our Lepcha servants, who came from the mixed

1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

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587 595 If, after a number of years of marriage, a man's wife is sterile, he has a right to apply to his wife's family for a second wife, providing his first wife agrees. The formalities entailed in this request are the same as those which have to be performed after the death of a first wife;[13] an extra preliminary present has to be given, but the subsequent expenses for the marriage are slightly less. In theory it is only permissible to take a second wife from the first wife's *ptso*, and ideally this second wife should be the first wife's real or classificatory younger sister. This is recognised in the terms with [601] which co-wives are always referred to; the Nepali words *jethi* and *kanchi*, meaning 'eldest sister' and 'youngest sister' are always used; Lepcha has no equivalent terms to indicate the position of a child in the order of birth. In the great majority of cases the ideal conditions are observed, and the two wives, if not actual sisters, are of the same *ptso* and use kinship terms. In cultural theory the co-wives have already an established habit of cooperation and cohabitation which only needs to be renewed, and the situation of co-wife is meant to be an agreeable one. This expectation is not always justified; occasionally co-wives quarrel; but the majority are glad for the companionship of a close relative, and the lessened work which their presence means. The husband is meant to spend alternate nights with each of them.

595 In Lingthem there are seven men with two wives each; but only in three cases was the second wife taken because the first wife was sterile. In two of the cases the second wife is indeed only a co-wife by courtesy; Asang gave a home to the middle-aged widow of his elder brother, because she had nowhere else to go; and for the same reason Gongyop took in his wife's sister. In this second case the hospitality was not long accepted; though nearly sixty years old, this woman, Samblyou, with her elder sister Mrs. Takal, is the most promiscuous woman in the village, and after distributing her favours in nearly every direction, including the seduction of a number of the younger boys, she is now cohabiting with Zumba, a widower twelve years younger than herself.

Chala Mandal has had in all four wives in two pairs; the first wife he gave to a 'younger brother', who lived with him; after her death he also gave him her equally sterile sister; this second wife returned to her family after the death of the

[13] See p. 159.

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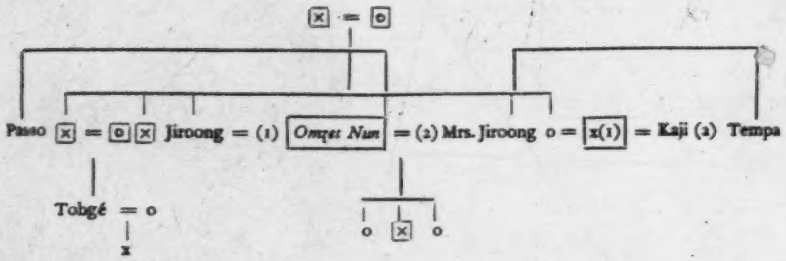
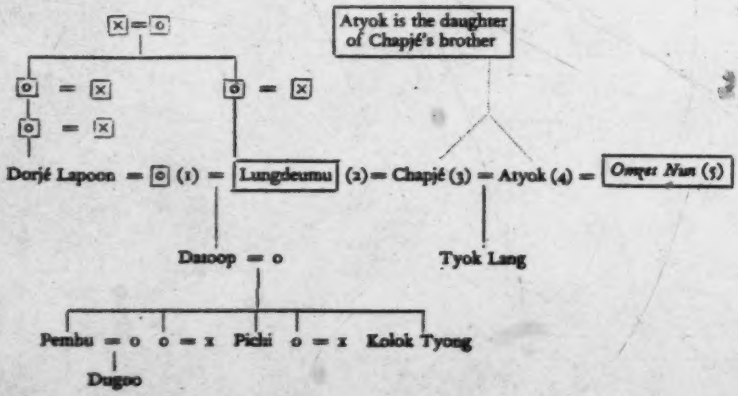
Genealogy of JIROONG
(Takpo Ptso)



x means man
o means woman
= means marries
dead means dead

Genealogy of FIRST DORJÉ LAPOON
(Sakmi Ptso)


Atyok is the daughter of Chapjé's brother
Dorjé Lapoon = (1) = Lungdeumu (2) = Chapjé (3) = Atyok (4) = Omzet Nun (5)
Daroop = o
Tyok Lang
Pembu = o o = x Pichi o = x Kolok Tyong
Duguo

[p. 417]

1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

APPENDIX II

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LEPCHA KINSHIP TERMS

(N.B. *m.s.* means 'man speaking'; *w.s.* 'woman speaking'.)

Lepcha term	*Direct meaning*	*People to whom this term is applied*
2nd generation ascendant		
THI-KUNG	grandfather	father of spouse, elder brother of spouse, spouse's elder sister's husband, after the birth of a child. *also* any man irrespective of age who traces relationship to a common ancestor and who is two generations nearer this ancestor than the speaker. *also* the Old Man in folktales and mythology.
NYI-KUNG	grandmother	(as for Thi-kung for all women)
1st generation ascendant		
A-BO	father	father of spouse; elder brother of spouse (w.s.) husband of elder sister of spouse (w.s.) before birth of child. *also* ingzong (trading friend) of husband (w.s.) *also* respectfully to affinal relations and unrelated people slightly older than speaker.
A-BO THIMBU (contracted to BATHIM)	big father	(1) elder co-husband. (2) father's elder brother: always used if the two brothers live in the same house or neighbourhood, not usually if they live in different villages.
A-BO CHIMBU	little father	(1) younger co-husband. (2) father's younger brother: only used if the two brothers live in the same house.
A-MU	mother	husband's mother (w.s.) wife of husband's elder brother before birth of child (w.s.) *also* wife of ingzong (m.s.) *also* respectfully to slightly older affinal or unrelated women.

1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

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Lepcha term	*Direct meaning*	*People to whom this term is applied*
A-MU THIMBU (contracted to MATHIM)	big mother	(1) elder co-wife. (2) wife of father's elder brother. (3) elder sister of father or mother if living in same house or neighbourhood.
A-MU CHIMBU	little mother	(1) younger co-wife. (N.B. 'little mother' is nearly always the biological mother of the children where there are co-wives.) (2) wife of father's younger brother: only used if living chiefly in same house as speaker.
A-KU	father's (younger) brother	any man whom father calls 'brother'. any male irrespective of age who traces relationship to a common ancestor and who is one generation nearer this ancestor than speaker. Any man mother calls 'aku'.
A-JONG	mother's brother	may be, but is not always, applied to any man one generation older than speaker whose relationship, however distant, is traced through a woman.
A-NYOU	lady	(1) younger sister of parent; *also* any woman whom father or mother calls 'sister'; *also* any woman irrespective of age who traces a relationship to a common ancestor and who is one generation nearer this ancestor than speaker; *also* the most respectful form of address to any socially superior woman: is used as a title for female supernaturals and Queens. (2) mother of wife (m.s.) elder sister of wife (m.s.).
A-ZONG OONG-OP	levirate or sororate spouse	*man speaking:* wife of younger brothers of father or mother, of any man called 'aku' or 'ajong'; wife of elder brother; younger sister of wife. *woman speaking:* younger brother of husband; son of husband's elder brother; men husband calls 'younger brother'; son of men husband calls 'elder brother' or 'younger brother' (except his biological younger brothers); husband of elder sister. (note AZONG is more commonly used when there is a generation between the speakers; OONG-OP when they are of the same generation, but there is no uniformity about this. The terms are reciprocal.)

1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

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Lepcha term	*Direct meaning*	*People to whom this term is applied*
Ego's generation		
A-NUM	elder brother	any male of ego's generation older than ego and tracing descent back to a common ancestor on either side. (Not always used if the common ancestor is more than four generations removed and the two speakers are not of the same *ptso*,) any otherwise unplaced male of ego's apparent age.
A-NOM	elder sister	(as for A-NUM for women.)
ING	younger sibling	(as for A-NUM for people of either sex younger than ego.)
A-VO	husband	
A-YOU	wife	
BRI-BO / BRI-MU	'marriage father' / 'marriage mother'	used reciprocally by the parents of a married couple.
ONG-ZONG	sibling of spouse / spouse of sibling	used reciprocally by all siblings of the same sex of a married pair. Thus if A (man) marries B (woman) A will call all B's brothers 'ongzong', and B's brothers will call A and his brothers 'ongzong'. Similarly B will so name all A's sisters who will call B and her sisters 'ongzong'; unless they live in the same house or neighbourhood when see above Thi-kung, Nyi-kung, A-bo, A-mu.
1st generation descendant		
ING-HA	infant	any young child.
A-KUP	child	any child.
NYOM	son's wife	*man speaking*: wife of younger brother; wife of sibling's son; *also* bride.
MYOK	daughter's husband	*woman speaking*: husband of younger sister; husband of sibling's daughter; *also* bridegroom.
NAM-KUP	child of sibling	the child of anybody ego or spouse calls 'brother' or 'sister'.
2nd generation descendant		
KUP-LONG	grandchild	any child two generations younger than ego, unless alternative classification allows the use of a kinship term of an elder generation.

1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

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Lepcha term	*Direct meaning*	*People to whom this term is applied*
Other common terms of address		
A-THING	lord	the most respectful term for a man; used for high officials and male supernaturals.
A-NYOU	lady	the female equivalent to A-thing.
REN (plural) REN-SONG	old man	the usual courtesy form of address to any man or mixed group not markedly younger than speaker.
A-NUM / A-NCM	elder brother / elder sister	less respectful than the last two terms. generally used to unclassified people of about ego's age, particularly with a view to sexual advances. ING is not used in this way.
Descriptive terms not used in address		
A-FET	father of spouse	also husband of wife's elder sister (m.s.) and wife's elder brother (m.s.).
TAGRI KUP	male child	son.
TA-YOU KUP	female child	daughter.
FLENG / NUM-LENG	young man / young woman	(literally, not having yet produced children.)
ABO PAYAR	step-father	
AMU PAYAR	step-mother	
JIUT-BO	adopting mother	
JIUT-MU	adopting father	
NUM-NEU	blood relation	(implying a person with whom sexual intercourse would be incestuous.)
NUM-NEU-ZONG	relatives	all the people with whom relation by descent can be traced.
PA-MING	brothers	a collective word meaning either all true siblings or more usually all the males the person referred to calls ANUM and ING.
M'SUNG-MU	sisters	(parallel to PA-MING, but referring exclusively to women and usually employed by women.)

2: Morris T-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

CHAPTER 10

CHILDREN

LEPCHAS are patrilineal and, in common with most of the people of India who trace descent from the father, live under what is known as the joint-family system. Under this system the family remains more or less intact, since it is only the girls who leave their parental home on marriage. There are occasions, of course, when brothers decide to separate, but, generally speaking, the land remains undivided and is worked by the members of the family as a whole.

"A child born into a community divided into clans," notes Rivers,* "becomes a member of a domestic group other than the family in the strict sense; and this is reflected in the terms of kinship that he addresses to those around him. The system of relationship found in these circumstances is called classificatory because whole groups of relatives are classed with the father, mother, brother, sister, and so forth, and receive the same terms of address. That is to say, relatives are grouped in classes. Thus, a person will give to a large number of men the term which he applies to his own father; to a large class of women he gives the same name as that he uses for his mother; and this applies even to the relationship of husband and wife. Thus, the distinctions of uncle, aunt, and cousin that play so fundamental a part in our system of relationship are largely obliterated in communities with moieties and clans."

The Lepchas use a very simple form of classificatory relationship, in which, however, the biological father and mother are clearly distinguished. It would be of no interest to the general reader to burden this account with a list of the words in use to denote the various relationships; but one

* *Social Organization.* W. H. R. Rivers. London, 1926.

2: Morris T-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

601 curious anomaly may be noted. There is only one word to denote both son and daughter; and similarly one word has to do duty for both one's younger (but not elder) brother and sister. When it is required to distinguish the sex of these individuals it is necessary to add the prefix denoting, respectively, male or female. In actual practice this is rarely necessary, except when talking to strangers, who might be expected not to know the composition of any particular family.

In a small community such as Lingtem nearly everybody is able to trace some sort of relationship to everyone else. This is particularly easy, for instance, when a man refers to a person whom we should describe doubtfully as a "cousin several times removed" as his brother. It is, however, extremely confusing to a stranger of an alien culture; but in view of the fact that pedigrees are common property and that there are no skeletons in the Lepcha's cupboards, no such difficulty arises amongst the people themselves. Until one gets used to the system one naturally thinks of two "brothers," for instance, as being sons of the same father. It is, of course, quite possible that they may be; but on the other hand it is equally possible that one is the son of a man whose mother is descended from the other's great-grandmother's sister! But all these details are common property in the village and no confusion arises. To explain them here would need a whole series of complicated charts, the sight of which would undoubtedly cause the reader to lay down this book in disgust. That, however, is a risk I am not willing to take: but in any case, such things are of interest only to experts; and even they, to judge by the uncut pages in the books of some of my friends, are sometimes human!

852 We may now consider the subject of Lepcha home life in general. It will be convenient to start with babies and children, in reading the account of which due allowance should be made for my bachelor prejudice and ignorance!

Three days after a child is born its head is smeared with a mixture of butter and soot, the latter scraped from the family cooking pot. This is believed to hasten the closing

/For a linguistic confirmation of the kinship terms used in this source, see category 197./

197 borrowed form nak as found in nak-c'o "the black arts" (Tib. nag-p'yogs) and other obviously recent loan-words. Yet the true native term is rather (a-)tyang "black, dark", cognate with Tsangla tsang, Kachin ang "black" (Lepcha has medial a, probably from TB *ā, in a number of important roots). So also nok "ink" from Tib. snag, unquestionably a loan-word but showing the o < a shift (if truly cognate the form would be
601 *nyok rather than nok, vide infra). It is apparent, then, that the general semantic setting as well as the phonological development of a given Lepcha word must be considered in making our identification of it as native or Tibetan. That this is especially true of kinship terminology will be shown in the annotations below.

Lepcha Consanguineal Terms

		(a-)zo ggF	
nyi-kung gM		t'i-kung gF	
(a-)mo M		(a-)bo F	
(a-)mo tim(-bo) FoSi, MoSi		(a-)bo tim(-bo) FoB	
(a-)mo cum(-bo) MySi		(a-)bo cum(-bo) FyB	
(a-)nyu FSi, MSi		(a-)ku FB	
		(a-)žong MB	
(a-)nom oSi, pxC		(a-)nŭm oB, pxC	
yeng ySb, pxC		nu yB	
(a-)kŭp Ch			
nŭm-kŭp / nom-kŭp SbCh			
kŭp-žong / (a-)zom gCh			
nyi-t'i ggCh			

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Lepcha Affinal Terms

fyăt-nyo Ml (a-)fyăt Fl

(a-)yu W (a-)vo H

(a-)zong FyBW,MyBW,oBW,WyCi(all ms);
(a-)ngop HoBS,HyB,oSiH(all ws)

ong-zong SbCl(ss)

nyom SW,yBW(ms),SbSW(ms) nyok DH,ySiH(ws),SbDH(ws)

Notes:

The two grandparent terms include the element kung "tree", which functions here as a categorical term. The element t'i is identical with t'i "to be related", cognate with Tib. t'e-ba "to appertain to", and appears also in t'it-bo "a relative" (with morphological -t suffix). The element nyi is not so readily analyzed. It is represented in a-nyi, an expletive for a-go "love", and tă-nyi, an expletive for tă-yu "woman", as well as in nyit "to cherish" (with -t suffix). For the Lepcha system of expletives (semantic doublets), e.g. man ~ kit "flesh", făt ~ lek "earth" (pă-lek "a parcel of ground"), fo ~ yu "bird", vyeng ~ grong "door,window" (tă-grong "ladder"), see Mainwaring's Grammar, 136-37. This root (*nyi) must be compared with Tib. nye-ba "to be near", nye-mo "near", used figuratively, as in nye-mo je-pa "to love, e.g. parents loving their children or vice versa" (Central Tibetan), nye-ba-rnams "relations, sanguinity", nye-ts'an, nye-rigs "relative, kinsman", and gnyen "kinsman, relative"; for

the vocalism, cf. Lepcha mi "fire", Tib. me; Lepcha a-li "tongue", Tib. lce < *c-le. The elements *nyi and *t'i are combined in the term nyi-t'i ~ nyi-t'ɤ, probably ggCh, ggS (Stocks), but defined also as gCh and as gggCh (MB, in different places), and nyi-t'o ggD (Stocks). 601

Both grandparent terms are extended, e.g. t'i-kung denotes also "any man irrespective of age who traces relationship to a common ancestor and who is two generations nearer this ancestor than the speaker" (Gorer). In Lepcha folktales and mythology, t'i-kung stands for the "Old Man" (Gorer) or the "progenitor of the Rong-folk" (t'i-kung-tek, Stocks), and nyi-kung-ngal (Stocks) for his wife.

The parallelism in grandparent-grandchild terms indicated above can be traced further. Thus, MG gives the following scheme:

nyi-t'i gCh	t'i-kung gF
nyi-t'ing ggCh	t'i-kung-t'ing ggF
nyi-t'it gggCh	t'i-kung-t'in gggF
nyi-t'it-tek ggggCh	t'i-kung-tek ggggF

Most of these terms are primarily literary. Both t'in and t'it are probably derivatives of t'i "to be related", but note also (a-)t'in "a time, a generation". The other elements are t'ing "lord, master", tek "to be finished or ended", tek-bo "the last", as in yeng tek-bo "the last child". MG further cites nyi-kung-nyo ggM, nyi-kung-ngal gggM, and nyi-kung-pum ggggM, as well as t'i-kung-pum gggggF (also

601 "the head of the ancestors"). The botanical semasiology of kung "tree" (supra) is continued in the above terms; cf. ngal "to be short and thick", a-ngal "the head end, a short end of yam or other vegetable" (tek-ngal "progenitors, founders of a race"), and pum "to issue from, be the origin", a-pum "the chief sprout of plants", pum-bo "the chief, the principal, God".

Of especial interest is the term (a-)zo ggF (Stocks), which is certainly a direct representative of Tibeto-Burman *za Ch,gCh. The derivative in final -n is (a-)zon "grandchild, posterity", zon-kŭp ~ zon-nyin ~ zon-nyin-kŭp "offspring, descendants" (nyin is the derivative in final -n from *nyi, supra), a-kŭp a-zon "my own child (an expression of endearment of mother)", but zon defined simply as "creatures, men" (cf. Spanish criatura, Italian creatura). In the Lepcha term (a-)zo, therefore, we have strong evidence for grandparental reciprocity.

The terms used for the paternal and maternal pedigrees reflect Lepcha notions of physiology similar to those held by the Tibetans. The term for pedigree itself is (a-)gyit, from gyit "to follow"; cf. Tib. brgyud "lineage", rgyud "string", rgyud-pa "to file on a string", rgyun "a continual flowing, the flow, current or stream", rgyu-ba "to go, move, wander". For "male pedigree", Lepcha has t'ing gyit (t'ing "lord", supra), also a-hrăt a-gyit, a-hrăt zong "male branch of family", from (a-)hrăt "bone". The corresponding

601 feminine term is nyo gyit "pedigree on female side", whence the alternative terms nyo-kung ~ nyi-kung gM, nyo-kung-nyo nyi-kung-nyo ggi. Etymologically, nyo is an expletive of vi "blood", but the Tibetan cognate is nya "tendon, sinew, muscle", hence the term refers fundamentally to the flesh rather than to the blood. The parallelism with Tib. rus(-pa) "bone" and sa "flesh" is complete. The native theory is thus expressed by Gorer (p. 283):

> .....the father's semen provides the bones and brain, the mother's vaginal secretions the flesh and blood.

Stocks (p. 465) makes a similar statement:

> .....the mother's relations are considered to be of much nearer kin than the father's. The Lep-cha believe it to be only the father who transmits bone to his offspring, while from the mother they obtain their flesh and blood.

The alternation of nyo with nyi in the gM, ggM terms suggests that nyi is associated with the maternal side (cf. Tib. nye-ba "to be near" , supra), t'i with the paternal side (cf. t'i "to be related"). The merging of the ascending lines would thus appear to be analogical, contrasting with the real merging of the descending lines shown in the "fused" terms nyi-t'i gCh, nyi-t'it gggCh, and nyi-t'ing ggCh (t'ing for t'i, vide supra).

Lepcha (a-)mo M and (a-)bo F (often mu, bu in modern pronunciation) represent the regular Tibeto-Burman roots *ma and *pa. These terms in themselves, unlike the grandparent terms, are not extended, but a type of quasi-extension is found in (a-)mo tim(-bo) FoSi,MoSi, (a-)bo tim(-bo) FoB

601 (ti-m "great, large"), (a-)mo cum(-bo) MyBi, (a-)bo cum(-bo) FyB (cu-m "small, little"). It is clear from Gorer's annotations that these combined terms are used only when the relatives in question reside in or near the house of the speaker. Thus, Gorer defines a-mo cum-bo (a-mu chimbu) only as "younger co-wife", and "wife of father's younger brother; only used if living chiefly in same house as speaker", but among the Lepcha the younger co-wife is ordinarily MyBi (real or classificatory). Of a-bo tim-bo Gorer remarks: "always used if the two brothers live in the same house or neighborhood, not usually if they live in different villages"; a-bo cum-bo is said to be "only used if the two brothers live in the same house"; a-mo tim-bo is defined as "elder sister of father or mother if living in same house or neighborhood". In affinal usage, a-bo tim-bo is "elder co-husband", a-bo cum-bo is "younger co-husband", and a-mo tim-bo is "elder co-wife".

Lepcha (a-)ku FB, (a-)ʒong MB, and (a-)nyu FSi, MBi constitute an entirely distinct set of terms. Like the grandparent terms, they are subject to extension. Gorer defines a-ku as "any man whom father calls 'brother'; any male irrespective of age who traces relationship to a common ancestor and who is one generation nearer this ancestor than speaker; any man mother calls 'aku'", a-ʒong as "mother's brother; may be, but is not always, applied to any man one generation older than speaker whose

601 relationship, however distant, is traced through a woman", and a-nyu as "younger sister of parent; also any woman whom father or mother calls 'sister'; also any women irrespective of age who traces a relationship to a common ancestor and who is one generation nearer this ancestor than speaker". The status of the terms a-ku and a-ž̌ong is debatable, in view of the close correspondences with Tib. ʾa-k'u and ʾa-ž̌ang. The initial aspirated k' of Tibetan loan-words is usually retained in Lepcha, in which it is phonemically aberrant, e.g. k'e ~ k'o "mouth" (Tib. k'a), k'u "bread" (Tib. k'ur), k'ye ~ k'e "profit" (Tib. k'ye ~ k'e), but Tibetan itself has the fluctuation ʾa-k'u ~ a-ku (produced by the a- prefix) and the Lepcha form a-ku may be based on the latter. The term a-ž̌ong is rendered somewhat suspect by the initial ž̌-, which is on the whole an atypical element in Lepcha but is standard in Tibetan loan-words, e.g. ž̌i "4" (Tib. bž̌i), ž̌ung "middle" (Tib. gž̌ung). Lepcha a-nyu FSi,MSi is a variant of nyo, a categorical term applied to relatives of the uterine line (vide supra); the phonetic development parallels that shown by mu < mo ", bu < bo F, tsu <tso "to cook", un < on "horse", and others. HG cites a-nyu "aunt", but a-nyo "lady, queen", but Gorer has a-nyu also in the meaning "the most respectful form of address to any socially superior woman: is used as a title for female supernaturals and Queens". It is the female equivalent of a-t'ing "the most respectful term for a man; used for high

601 officials and male supernaturals". Since t'ing has a categorical usage exactly paralleling that of nyo (supra), the equivalence nyo = nyu is established.

The three sibling terms, also extended to include parallel and cross cousins, are (a-)nom oSi, (a-)num̆ oB, and yeng (also eng, ing) ySb. The additional term, nu (Tib. nu ~ no), though defined in MG as yB, seems to be used only in the stable compound num̆-nu "blood relation (implying a person with whom sexual intercourse would be incestuous)" (Gorer), "relations, relatives" (MG), num̆-nu mim-yeng "relatives, connexions", num̆-nu-ka t'i "to be related", num̆-nu tyol-nu "friends and acquaintances", and in stereotyped phrases of the type bo-nu "father and family", mo-nu "mother and children". The term num̆ oB itself is a derivative in -m from the root *nu (see the discussion above). The combined term num̆-nu is formally comparable with Tib. p'u-nu but functionally comparable with Tib. spun. Lepcha a-nom < *nam oSi is cognate with Gyarung anom < *snam Si (and cf. the discussion of nyom below), while yeng ySb appears to be related to Tsangla -ying (cf. nyel "gums", Tib. snyil). MG cites yeng tă-yu ySi, yeng tă-gri yB, with the sex-suffixes, but this distinction is not ordinarily made. As in Tibetan, the age distinction is of primary importance. According to Gorer (p. 166), the Nepali terms for oSi and ySi have been borrowed as descriptive terms for the co-wives:

•601 This [that the co-wife should be the ySi of the first wife] is recognized in the terms with which co-wives are always referred to; the Nepali words jethi and kanchi, meaning 'eldest sister' and 'youngest sister' are always used; Lepcha has no equivalent terms to indicate the position of a child in the order of birth.

Gorer's statement is perhaps inexact, since both MG and Stocks cite analogous native Lepcha terms, e.g. nŭm-fren eB, nŭm-hlep-bo yB (Stocks). Since almost no Nepali loan-words exist in the language, the use of Nepali terms in this specific connection presents a definite problem, much as Kanauri bai yB and other loan-words already encountered.

The neuter sibling term, (a-)kŭp, is a new element. The terms ta-yŭ kŭp D, ta-gri kŭp S, are used only in a descriptive way, according to Gorer. A-kŭp itself can be extended (Gorer defines it as "any child"), but the extended usage is more properly represented by nom-kŭp SiCh, nŭm-kŭp BCh (Gorer and Stocks tend to confuse these two terms under the single form nŭm-kŭp, which is merely a variant of nŭm-kŭp, but the distinction is clearly made in MG). MG also cites a-ku kŭp "paternal cousin" and a-zong kŭp "maternal cousin" (probably descriptive), as well as a-nyu kŭp "nephew, niece, child of elder brother" (perhaps through the honorific nature of the term a-nyu). The normal gCh term is kŭp-zong, in which kŭp is combined with the element zong (analyzed below). It is extended to include "any child two generations younger than ego" (Gorer), and can show sex distinction (probably descriptive only), viz. kŭp-zong tă-yu gD, kŭp-zong tă-gri gS. For the terms (a-)zon and nyi-t'i, see the discussion above.

● 601 The affinal terminology presents several new terms (listed in the table) and a number of consanguineal terms used affinally. The terms used in any given instance depend in large measure on the composition of the family and the residence of the spouse's kin. The following excerpt from Gorer (p. 143) gives the essential points:

Old age is considered by the Lepchas to be a desirable quality; the polite term of address to anybody you are not related to is 'old man'; and there is a tendency to push anybody older than the speaker into a higher generation. Thus, when a man has had a child he calls his wife's parents 'grandfather' and 'grandmother', and the parents call their own elder brothers and sisters 'father' and 'mother'; the wife's elder brother, or her elder sister's husband (and conversely) are equated with her father. The opposite tendency is also manifested towards the wives of younger brothers (the elder brother calls them 'daughters-in-law') and the husbands of younger sisters (the elder sister calls them 'sons-in-law'). In the joint family which dwells under a single roof only nine terms are normally used: 'grandfather', 'grandmother', 'father', 'mother', 'elder brother', 'elder sister', 'younger brother-or-sister', 'child' and 'grandchild'. It does not matter how many brothers and their wives live together; all the brothers are called 'father', all their wives 'mother' by all the children; if it is necessary to distinguish which 'mother' or 'father' is meant, the child will say 'big mother', 'little mother', and if necessary 'middle mother'; his own mother he will call his 'real mother'. If the married brothers live in different houses the children of the younger brother will still call the elder brother and his wife 'father' and 'mother'; but the sons of the elder brother will call the younger brother 'uncle', and his wife 'potential spouse' (azong), for, as will be seen later, they may under certain circumstances inherit her.

In this extension of consanguineal terms, the use of teknonymy and the equation of elder sibling of spouse with parent of spouse are prominent features. Thus, before the birth of a child, a-bo is used for SpF, SpoB, SpoSiH, while after the birth of a child t'i-kung is used to denote these

• 601 same affinal kin. The definitions of affinal kin in Stocks and Gorer are not sufficiently precise to enable us to fix the status of (a-)fyăt Fl, fyăt-nyo Ml (only in MG), and (a-)nyu Ml. Gorer specifies that a-fyăt is a descriptive term not used in address, and notes that, like a-bo and t'i-kung, it denotes WoSiH and WoB as well as "father of spouse", while a-nyu denotes both WM and WoSi. The avuncular terms, a-ku and a-ăong, are not used to denote kin of spouse (contrast a-ku cum-bo FyB, a-fyăt cum-bo WFyB, in Stocks), but a-nyu is used for FBW and MBW as well as for FSi, MSi, and Ml. Since a-nyu is not matched by a corresponding masculine term (a-fyăt is descriptive), it is likely that its use for Ml merely represents one aspect of its general honorific application.

The reciprocal term a-ăong ~ a-ngop is defined by Gorer as "levirate or sororate spouse", since it denotes the marriageable affinal kin of Ego. Gorer observes that "Azong is more commonly used when there is a generation between the speakers; Oong-op when they are of the same generation, but there is no uniformity about this". He further notes that the term is used for "wife of younger brothers of father or mother, of any man called 'aku' or 'ajong'". The implication here must be that the terms a-ku and a-ăong are applied only to FyB and MyB, respectively; yet Gorer, after giving "father's (younger) brother" as the "direct meaning" of the term a-ku, notes that it is applied to "any man whom father calls 'brother'". Similarly,

601 a-nyu is defined as "(1) younger sister of parent; also any woman whom father or mother calls 'sister'". As explained by Gorer in the excerpt cited above, the term "father" (i.e. a-bo tim-bo) is applied to the father's elder brother even when living in a different house, while the father's younger brother under the same circumstances is called "uncle" (i.e. a-ku). Neither Stocks nor MG, however, make any similar distinction in the terms a-ku and a-zong. The apparent discrepancy is perhaps to be explained on the assumption that these terms in address are used only for FyB and MyB but in reference are applied to FB and MB without age distinction.

The term a-ngop < *ngap (oong-op in Gorer) is linguistically isolated (it may be cognate with Bahing ngwap-aya "cousin"), but a-zong has an interesting connection with the final element of kŭp-zong gCh and ong-zong Sbl (vide infra). It is quite distinctefrom a-žong MB, which is either cognate with or borrowed from Tib. ʾa-žang (but MG mistakenly cites the meaning FSiH for a-zong rather than for a-žong). The basic meaning of zong ~ zăng is "like, after the manner of", as in bik zong "like a cow" (bik "cow"). It is used also in the meaning "fellow, companion, one's own kind or sex", e.g. lom-zong "fellow-traveller" (lom "road"), tă-do zong "one's own people" (tă-do "self"), nŭm-zong "friends, relatives", nŭm-nu-zong "relatives (all the people with whom relation by descent can be traced)"

601 (contrast nŭm-nu "blood relation", implying a person with whom sexual intercourse would be incestuous), a-hrăt-zong "male branch of family" (a-hrăt "bone", vide supra). The basic signification of the term a-zong is thus "the coupler", "one with whom coupling (copulation) is allowed". The o ∿ ă alternation points to an original ŭ vocalism (vide the introductory remarks), hence we can safely identify this root with Tib. zung "a pair, a couple".

The reciprocal term ong-zong Sbl(ss) is applied both to SpSb(ss) and SbSp(ss). The element zong is here combined with ong "a child", which appears in a number of combinations, e.g. ong-kŭp "child", ong tă-yu (fem.) and ong tă-gri (masc.) "child from the ages of 3-10", ong nŭm-lyeng (fem.) and ong fă-lyeng (masc.) "young person from the age of 10 to maturity" (note nŭm-lyeng "girl, young female", but num oB), ong-lot "children in a general sense". MG cites ong-zong simply as "companion, comrade, fellow-workman". The development of ong-zong Sbl from ong Ch parallels the use of nyom SW for yBW and of myok DH for ySiH (vide infra).

The terms nyom SW and myok DH have been analogously extended to include non-marriageable affinal kin of different sex from speaker, primarily yBW(ms) and ySiH(ws). The tendency toward serial equations in the affinal terminology thus appears here also; Ego(ms) equates his WF with his WoB, and his DH with his yBW.

It will be observed that a medial y element appears in three affinal terms, viz. a-fyŭt, nyom, and myok. The

601 linguistic clue to these forms is given by the Lepcha causative formation with a so-called "infixed y", e.g. pok "to cast down", pyok "to cause to cast down"; t'or "to escape, get free", t'yor "to let go, set free" (Tib. t'ar-ba "to become free"); rop "to stick, adhere", ryop "to affix, attach"; nak "to be straight" , nyak "to make straight". Since infixation is entirely foreign to Tibeto-Burman morphology, these verbal forms stand in need of explanation. As described in the Introduction (pt. 1), the regular Tibeto-Burman causative formation involves the prefix s-, as in Tib. 'k'or-ba "to turn round", skor-ba "to surround"; 'p'ur-ba "to fly", spur-ba "to make fly" (Tibetan regularly has '- or m- intransitive prefix). The loss of prefixed s- may affect the initial; thus in Burmese the initial is aspirated, e.g. pran "to be full", p'ran "to fill"; lwat "to be free", hlwat "to set free". This phonetic effect is seen also in nominal forms, e.g. Burmese (a-)t'ong "1,000", Tib. stong; Burmese hna "nose", Tib. sna. Lepcha has only a few s- prefixed forms, of secondary origin, and there can be no question but that the loss of original s- prefix has palatalized the initials. The parallelism is sometimes seen in the same root, e.g. Lepcha nom "to smell" (intr.), nyom (tr.); Tib. mnam-pa "to smell" (intr.), snam-pa ~ snom-pa ~ snum-pa (tr.). The point is neatly demonstrated in the Lepcha form myăn "to be ripe" (also a-măn "ripe,cooked"), which theoretically should be transitive rather than intransitive;

● 601 the anamoly is explained by Tib. smin-pa "to be ripe, ripen" (intr.), Burmese hman$^{\acute{}}$ ~ hmyan$^{\acute{}}$ "to be ripe", which are similarly intransitive in meaning though transitive in form. Cf. also Lepcha nyo "snot", Tib. sna "nose", Burmese hna "nose" ; the semantic shift in the Lepcha word is indicated by (a-)nyo, expletive of (a-)mik "eye", which parallels Burmese myak-hna "face".

This long digression is required to clarify the terms a-fyăt Fl, nyom Dl, and myok Sl. The derivation nyom < *snam makes possible a direct comparison with Kanauri stem < *snom Dl and Gyarung snom < *snam Si, while myok < *smak (Tib. mag-pa) must be interpreted as an analogous development (but cf. Burmese sa-mak). The term (a-)fyăt indicates an original *sput (Lepcha f- and p- often interchange, e.g. far ~ a-far "price", per "to buy", cognate with Tib. p'ar "exchange, agio", Gyarung m-p'ar "to be for sale"), and *sput can be only a collective term (with morphological -t) paralleling Tib. spun Sb(es), derived from p'u-bo oB. The equation of SpoB with SpF has been noted above. Lepcha (a-)fyăt < *sput Fl is thus partly analogical with (and cognate with) Tib. spun < p'u(-bo) oB, and partly analogical with Tib. skud-po Fl, Bl < k'u(-bo) FB.

The remaining affinal terms are (a-)yu W and (a-)vo H. The former is simply the root for "female" (tă-yu), cognate with the root *yu "female" that has appeared elsewhere (e.g. Kanauri yu-med Ml), perhaps also with Tib. yu-bo ~ yu-mo "ox or cow having no horns; hind, female of a stag". Lepcha

● 601 a-vo H is from a root *wa (v- < w-, as in vi "blood", TB *wi; vot "bee", Kanauri wăs "honey"), which appears in the meaning "male", also "father" in some of the groups discussed below. Lepcha tă-gri "male" is probably cognate with Tib. bgre-ba "to grow old" (Lepcha i = Tib. e, supra). The term bo F appears in the sense "entire non-emasculated animal", e.g. mon-bo "boar" (mon "pig"), and the variant (a-)bu is used for "male sex of animals". Lepcha also has (a-)tsu "the male of goats, pigs, sheep", e.g. lŭk a-tsu "ram" (lŭk "sheep").

Morphological -t suffixes appear in (a-)mit "female, woman of superior beings", e.g. rŭm-mit "goddess" (rŭm "god"), from a form *mi cognate with Tib. *me (in bud-med), which is represented also in the phrase nŭm-nu mim-yeng " relatives, connexions" (MG); and in (a-)mot "the female of animals" (sometimes of human beings, as in yu-mot "woman"), which is from a form *mo identical with mo < *ma M. The morphological -t group of terms in Lepcha thus includes (a-)fyăt < *sput Fl, (a-)mit "female (human)", and (a-)mot "female (animal)".

The Tibetan loan-words in the Lepcha kinship terminology merit especial examination. The following terms have been recorded (we omit a-ku FB and a-zong ME, which are of doubtful status):

• 601

Lepcha < Tibetan Terms

ma M	p'a F
yŭm M (resp.)	yap F (resp.)
mo-sŭng-mo Si	p'a-ming B
pŭn Sb	
se Ch (resp.)	
	ku-mok Sl

The terms ma M and p'a F, with the respectful equivalents yŭm (also yăm) M and yap F, closely correspond to their Tibetan prototypes, while se "son or daughter of a great man" is merely a dialectical form of sras. Lepcha mo-sŭng-mo has been borrowed from Tib. sring-mo Si(ms) via a dialect of Central Tibetan type (probably Dĕnjonkă, spoken in Sikkim), as shown by the treatment of initial sr-; Lepcha has prefixed mo, and has changed the vocalism as in many other Tibetan loan-words, e.g. tsŭk-po < rtsig-pa "wall", k'yŭm < k'yim "house", yŭk < yig "letter". Lepcha p'a-ming is from Tib. p'a-ming "relations on the father's side". Gorer lists the Lepcha term as descriptive, and gives the following definition: "a collective word meaning either all true siblings or more usually all the males the person referred to calls anum and ing." The same authority defines mo-sŭng-mo (m'sung-mu) as "parallel to pa-ming, but referring exclusively to women and usually employed by women". Stocks gives mu-sang-mu FBD,FSiD, a-num p'a-ming FBS,MBS, i.e. exclusively collateral terms, yet on p. 469 she states

● 601 that "Pha-ming is an idiom.....meaning the elder or younger brother, and the word musang-mu is another word denoting a sister of any age". MG defines mo-sŭng-mo as "sister, female cousin" (agreeing rather with Gorer), but for p'a-ming offers only the literal Tibetan translation "paternal name", though Grünwedel brings Tib. ming-po B(sw) into comparison. On the analogy with p'a-ming, the term mo-sŭng-mo can be analyzed as mo + sŭng-mo, with mo M for Tib. ma through the influence of the final -mo suffix. Tibetan does not have the compound ma-sring-mo, and employs p'a-ming only in its literal connotation ("father's name"). Gorer indicates that mo-sŭng-mo is employed by women rather than by men, whereas the Tibetan term (sring-mo) is exclusively a man's term. The Lepcha term nŭm-mu, lit. "oB and yB", has been extended to include blood relatives in general, hence a need may have been felt for a descriptive collective sibling term. In any case it is evident that considerable semantic distortion has taken place.

Lepcha pŭn, defined by MG as "brother and sister, hospitality", and used in the phrases ma-pŭn-zong "relations on mother's side", p'a-pŭn-zong (also p'a-pŭn-zŭng) "paternal, belonging to the father", constitutes another good example of shift of meaning in loan-words. The Tibetan original is spun "brother, sisters (same sex); cousins, brothers- or sisters-in-law", and the corresponding phrases in Tibetan are ma-spun "brothers and sisters of the same

●601 mother", p'a-spun "brothers and sisters of the same father". The Tibetan word can be applied only to siblings of the same sex, while the Lepcha term includes siblings of both sexes (Tibetan renders this idea by ming-sring). The element pun further appears to enter into pun-se "relations" (MG), which must be equated with Gorer's term ptso, the designation for the exogamous patrilineal group. The form cited by Gorer is of non-Lepcha type and a borrowing is clearly indicated, though the final element -so (or -tso) has not yet been identified. Cf. Tibetan p'a-spun, similarly used for the patrilineal group (see the discussion in pt. 2).

The remaining Tibetan loan-word, ku-mok SL, is defined by MG as "a man who has not paid his marriage-fee", and ku-mok myok as "a son-in-law who has not paid his marriage-fee". In this source the term is derived from Tib. rku-mag(-pa), the first element standing for Tib. rku-ba "to steal". This compound does not exist in Tibetan, however, and is scarcely of Tibetan type. The form -mok must be regarded as a loan-word, contrasting with the native term myok (analyzed above), but the first element cannot be identified. Gorer (pp. 156-57) explains komok myok as a "resident son-in-law":

> In a family where there are no sons it is possible, if the parents so wish, that the groom, instead of taking the daughter away to his home, shall live permanently in the home of his parents-in-law, acting as their son, and eventually inheriting their property.

Gorer further observes that this arrangement "is not very popular or very common", and adds that there are only

601 two komok myok in the village of Lingthem, both maladjusted individuals. As shown above (pt. 3), Kanauri has similarly borrowed the Tibetan term in the form mak-pa, used in precisely the same sense. The inference must be that this cultural item has diffused from Tibet along with the term used to designate it, though the Tibetan term itself naturally lacks this precise connotation. The parallelism in groups so distinct as Kanauri and Lepcha is especially worthy of attention.

The Lepcha kinship terminology, which has been presented above in some detail, closely reflects the marriage regulations and incest ideas of this people. The patrilineal clan (ptso) is an exogamic unit, in practice if not strictly in theory:

> In theory people of the same ptso are allowed to marry if they are separated by nine generations from a common ancestor, and to indicate that a person of the same ptso is very far removed a Lepcha will always say 'we can marry'; but in point of fact I did not come upon nor hear of a single instance of two people of the same ptso marrying. It was generally stated that though such a marriage was permissive, people would feel shame in it. (Gorer, p. 148)

There are also matrilineal restrictions on marriage, though these are apparently less severe. Gorer (p. 148) states:

> It is allowable to marry back into a mother's ptso after four generations; but so near a connection is considered somewhat shameless. Datoop's father, the first Dorje Lapoon, took as his second wife a woman he called 'aunt' (a-nyou); his grandmother was a sister of her mother. This marriage was considered quite shameless, and even nearly sixty years later was a subject for embarrassment; but it demanded no sanctions against it, such as would have been invoked if the connection had been on the father's side.

601 Stocks (p. 469) states that cross-cousin marriage (assumedly MBCh) is permitted on rare occasions:

.....the Lep-cha is not permitted to marry his cross-cousin, though should one be a widow having no children, the matter could be gone into by a council of the village folk, who would come together and discuss it, permitting it to take place on occasions.

The lack of cross-cousin marriage is correlated with the lack of any significant categorical equations. As indicated above, the use of a-nyu for M1, FBW, and MBW, as well as FBi, MBi, merely reflects the peculiarly honorific nature of this term, which in turn is dependent on its etymology (a-nyo, an expletive of vi "blood", used to denote the uterine lineage). The merging of the collateral and the central lines in the sibling terms is also consistent with these bilateral marriage restrictions.

The Lepcha regulations affecting affinal kin reflect a single fundamental distinction, viz. that between siblings of different birth order. The Lepcha are ordinarily monogamous, though (sororal) polygyny and even polyandry may be practised under certain conditions. Both the levirate and sororate are in force, however, and a man has free sexual access to all his potentially hereditable wives. Gorer (p. 160) states the regulations as follows:

Among the Lepchas a man can inherit the wives of all his elder brothers, real or classificatory, the wives of all his paternal and maternal uncles real or classificatory, provided these 'uncles' are younger than his parents but not younger than himself, and all the younger sisters of his wife, real or classificatory. Conversely a woman can be inherited by all her husband's younger brothers, all the sons of her husband's uncles, and all the husbands of her elder sisters, real or classificatory.

601 Infractions of these regulations are regarded as fully incestuous, even though no blood relatives are involved. Terminologically, the potential spouse is designated by an especial term, a-zong ~ a-ngop, which may have originally shown a distinction between potential spouses of the same generation as Ego and those of a different generation (see the discussion above), and the remaining affinal kin, of different sex from Ego, are equated in accordance with age distinctions. Thus, a man equates his yBW and SbSW with his SW (nyom), and his HoSi with his WM (a-nyu), while a woman equates her ySiH and SbDH with her DH (myok), and her HoB with her HF (a-bo, before birth of child; t'i-kung, after birth of child).

Gorer develops the theory that the jus connubii enjoyed by the younger brother represents a social device serving to reduce intra-group friction. The gist of his argument is given in the following excerpt:

> I have already suggested that the ptso was possibly earlier a geographical unit; if this were the case, it seems to me possible that these permissive regulations [jus connubii] were evolved to meet the special circumstances. For, with the ptso as the geographical unit, the young men would have had no possible sexual partners except through adultery or incest; and, as numerous examples show, such situations inevitably lead to jealousy, fighting, and the splitting of the group. By their regulations, the Lepchas have reduced intra-group aggression to the minimum. The potential rivalry between father and son is mitigated by taking the arrangements for the child's marriage entirely out of the parents' hands [they are in the hands of the paternal or maternal uncles]; the potential rivalry between brothers is mitigated by allowing the younger brother access to his more favoured and stronger elder brother's wife, while making the relationship between an elder brother and his younger sister-in-law strongly incestuous. (pp. 161-62)

• 601 This explanation appears to be something of a rationalization, i.e. the fact that the younger brother may have exclusive rights to certain females seems to be incidental. The Lepcha regard marriage as "not only a contract between two individuals, but also a contract between two groups" (Gorer, p. 158). The rights to sexual intercourse merely represent one aspect of the group rights in general, but these rights are regulated by the dominant age distinctions, hence the general preferential status of the elder sibling (elder child) is reflected in the marriage regulations. Thus, a man has sexual access to his ♀ySi but not to his ♀oSi, and a woman is accessible to her HyB but not to her HoB. From the purely masculine point of view (that in Gorer), however, the yB (HyB) has access to his oB♀, while the oB (HoB) does not have access to his yB♀; from the feminine point of view, the ySi (♀ySi) is accessible to her oSiH, while the oSi (♀oSi) is not accessible to her ySiH. The Lepcha point of view is not so much that of two lines (bilateral) as of two lineages or clans (ptso), each of whom contributes a partner to the marriage; the age distinctions must be observed regardless of whether this partner is male or female.

Where affinal kin of two different generations are involved the principle of age distinctions is applied somewhat differently. The gap of a generation necessitates an adjustment in the concept of age. Actually a man

601 equates his FyB(os) with his own oB, and his FyB(ys) with his own yB. A man may inherit his FyBW only if his FyB is not younger than himself. Neither FoBW nor FyBW are listed by Gorer (p. 151) as blood relatives with whom sexual relations are considered incestuous, hence we can assume that a man has sexual access to but may not marry the wife of his FyB(ys). At one point the age principle comes into conflict with a Lepcha aversion toward the sharing of a single female by a father and son. The situation is not regarded as really incestuous, but is socially frowned upon. Gorer makes the following observation:

> It is considered very wicked, though the act will only affect the actual performers [incest affects the community as a whole], for a man and his son to sleep with the same woman, or a mother and her daughter with the same man; if this is done the line will die out. This situation does however occur occasionally.....Although such behaviour is very disgraceful instances of it are recounted with considerable relish, and not with the shocked embarrassment with which stories of true incest are recounted; it is a bad thing to do, but there is something rather attractive and dare-devil about it. (p. 152)

Since a son theoretically has access to his father's elder brothers' wives, it is apparent that a conflict can sometimes arise. The Lepcha solve the problem in a rather awkward fashion, by having the father inform his son as to which of these potential spouses he has slept with; if the father has slept with any of these wives, the son is forbidden access to her (Gorer, p. 153). Since the Lepcha male seldom fails to take full advantage of his fraternal rights (cf. Gorer, pp. 160 sq.) the theoretical conflict must fail to

601 materialize in most instances, provided that the son be adequately forewarned. In any event the situation is an awkward one, even though the Lepcha are not reticent about their sexual life. It indicates, perhaps, that the principle of age distinction is not yet fully integrated in a society which in most respects forms a well-knit unit (Gorer does not develop the point).

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1[For abbreviations, see this source in cat. 113, ALI Southeast Asia ALI - Analyst]